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N. BULGANIN

SPEECH AT THE NINETEENTH CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)

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Comrades, the report of the Central Committee of our Party and the report on the directives of the congress concerning the Fifth Five-Year Plan have elucidated prob lems and events that constitute fresh convincing evidence of the supreme power of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, fresh proof of their correctness. The successes achieved by the Soviet Union in the building of communism, the forming of the powerful camp of People's Democracies, and the growth and strengthening of the communist and workers' parties clearly confirm this fact.

The strength, unity and solidarity of the world communist movement is shown by the further fact, so joyfully welcomed by all of us, that the present congress of the C.P.S.U. is attended by numerous delegations of the communist and workers' parties abroad. (*Applause.*)

In reviewing the path traversed by the Land of Soviets since the Eighteenth Congress it may be noted with pride and satisfaction that the policy pursued by our Party was right, was based as always on the interests of the people and aimed at strengthening our state to the utmost. (*Applause.*)

During these years the policy of the Party as well as its practical activities in all the spheres of economy, culture and military affairs were subjected to the acid test applied in the stern crucible of the Great Patriotic War.

War overtook our country at a time when the Soviet people were enthusiastically engaged in the task of fulfilling the Third Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., when our native land had entered a new stage of development, that of gradual transition from socialism to communism. Quite a number of outstanding victories in the field of labour had already been gained along this glorious path proclaimed by the Eighteenth Party Congress.

The sudden perfidious attack of the fascist invaders instantly worked a fundamental change in the situation. Millions of Soviet citizens were compelled to abandon their peaceful pursuits, take up arms in defence of the great socialist achievements and to rid their Homeland of the menace of fascist bondage.

In the Great Patriotic War the very life of our country was at stake. The issue, we know, was as follows: shall the Soviet Union retain its independence and the people of our land remain free, or shall it be turned into a colony and its people become slaves to the German imperialists? No other alternative was possible.

The Great Patriotic War was not only a war waged between two armies but a war of the entire Soviet people against a foreign invader. It was a war fought not only to annihilate the grave danger that threatened our country but also to render assistance to Europe's peoples groaning under the jackboot of German fascism. This was the cruelest of all the wars by which our country was ever stricken and hence required of the Soviet people incredible exertion, great privation and heavy sacrifice.

No detailed account is required of the exceptional difficulties that beset our Motherland during the years of war. The memory of the excruciating trials we went

through during the war is still fresh in the minds of all of us. But one thing cannot be impressed too strongly: if any bourgeois state had had to fend off a blow as severe as that struck at us by the Hitlerites it would surely have succumbed. Only our Soviet socialist state was able to stand up against the aggressor under these conditions, to surmount the unprecedented difficulties and emerge victorious. (*Prolonged applause.*)

What helped us to repulse the onslaught of the enemy and then to score the greatest victory in history?

Comrade Stalin teaches that modern war is an all-round test of the material and spiritual strength of every nation involved. Only those countries stand the test which excel their opponents in respect of the development and organization of their economies, in respect of the experience and proficiency as well as morale of their troops, and of the endurance and unity of the people throughout the length of the war.

In brief, the issue of a war depends upon the economic, moral and military potentials of the belligerents. In all these respects our Soviet state proved considerably stronger than its adversary, Hitler Germany, although the latter at the time of its incursion into our country possessed the economic and man-power resources available on its own territory and also in France, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Rumania, Spain and a number of other countries.

Before the war and since our people have applied their efforts chiefly to peaceful construction. The Soviet Union prosecuted a firm and consistent foreign policy of peace. At the same time our Party was never oblivious of the threat of war, of imperialist machinations, and, under Stalin's wise leadership, put the country and army in read-

iness for active defence. This preparation consisted, first and foremost, in creating such material potentials as in the event of war would ensure rapid conversion to war production and the uninterrupted supply of army and population with food and industry with raw material. Our Party solved this difficult problem by its policy of industrializing the whole country and collectivizing its agriculture during the three prewar Stalin five-year-plan periods. It was during that span of time that the historic transformation of our formerly agrarian country into an industrial one took place.

The fulfilment of the five-year economic development plans greatly enhanced the defensive power of the Soviet state. Even the First Five-Year Plan brought results that warranted the conclusion that the Soviet Union had been transformed from a weak country unprepared for defence into a country possessing a powerful national defence, a country ready for all eventualities and capable of producing on a mass scale all modern implements of defence and of supplying them to the army in case of foreign attack.

The Second Five-Year Plan and the first few years of the third brought further progress in the domain of country-wide industrialization and still greater consolidation of the Soviet Union's mighty system of defence. An economic base was set up which enabled us to enter the war prepared, meet all its demands and for four years endure all its trials and tribulations.

In prewar days measures were also taken to strengthen our army. The tremendous effort of the Party, the Government and the entire Soviet people in this regard under the leadership of Comrade Stalin converted the Soviet Army into a powerful and formidable force. Its techni-

cal re-equipment and the practical application of Stalin's principle that all arms of the service must be developed was greatly instrumental in accomplishing this change.

After the First World War bourgeois military science found itself unable to decide on a correct relation between the various arms of the service. A large variety of so-called theories that gave preference to some particular arm or weapon made its appearance. Several such theories were introduced in practice. For instance, the German military command made tank development its specialty, banking on swift military victory with the aid of these engines of war. The Second World War however frustrated their hopes.

Our country already in prewar years had created a superb artillery service, powerful armoured and mobile troops, and a modern air force with up-to-date equipment while the building of a big Navy had been begun. This elevated the defensive capacity and fighting efficiency of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union to a high plane.

Came the war. It required skilful and correct employment of the material potentials that had been created. Thanks to the organizing work of the Party this task too was accomplished with great success.

The conversion of our industry to war production, which started at the very commencement of hostilities, was essentially finished in 3 or 4 months; the reconstruction of our entire economy to place it on a military footing took approximately one year. It must here be borne in mind that this reorganization had to be effected under unbelievably difficult conditions, a considerable portion of our territory having been occupied by the enemy while

a great number of our plants had to be removed east. All these circumstances enhanced the difficulties to be coped with. Suffice it to say that the industrial areas we temporarily lost had produced in peacetime one third of the Soviet Union's industrial output. More than 1,300 big state plants were re-sited in eastern areas. Moreover, millions of people with not inconsiderable property were likewise evacuated east. In not one of the belligerent countries was war conversion attended by such great difficulties.

But in a short space of time we created a war economy that worked smoothly and grew at a rapid pace. It had for its base not only the existing enterprises but also new ones.

During the strenuous period of war our industry and socialist agriculture successfully coped with the tasks assigned them. This was a graphic illustration of the correctness of the far-sighted policy conducted by our Party, which looks far ahead and wisely resolves the most complicated problems. (*Applause.*)

The war showed that such unity reigns among our people as no capitalist country can even dream of.

Already before the war the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. made it possible to abolish once and for all the vestiges of the exploiting classes and welded the workers, peasants and intellectuals into a single front of toilers. It was in that period that the moral and political unity of Soviet society was forged, that the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union was consolidated and the political life of the country fully democratized.

When they attacked us our enemies counted on instability of the Soviet rear and of the Soviet system: they expected conflicts between the Soviet workers and peasants,

and dissension and disagreement between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. But their expectations were disappointed. What happened was something quite different. The grave danger that threatened the Soviet Union rallied the Soviet people still more closely around the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin, and gave rise to an unparalleled wave of Soviet patriotism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the cause of freedom and independence of their country the Soviet people worked in the rear with unstinted energy and selflessness, fought bravely, undauntedly at the front, suffered untold hardships and made enormous sacrifices. The war showed that our Soviet people are a nation of heroes. They can work miracles and emerge victorious from the severest of trials. (*Applause.*)

Our rear, the firmest of any country in the world, provided not only for the material but also the intellectual needs of the army, imbued it with ideas and inspired its moods. Its ideas were the most advanced, the ideas of the Communist Party, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; its moods reflected profound, indestructible belief in our victory.

During the war years our Party explained to our soldiers the significance and aims of the war, instilled in their hearts love of country and hatred for the enemy, buoyed up their spirits and inspired them to feats of daring.

The utterances of the Party, of the great Stalin, armed the Soviet people with an extraordinarily effective weapon—profound faith in the triumph of our just cause. Recall, comrades, the stern days of the autumn of 1941 when the Hitlerites were pressing on Moscow, the capital of our country. The foe was jubilant and was already mak-

ing preparations to celebrate the victory. The clique across the ocean that is now preparing a new war likewise looked forward to the early demise of Soviet rule.

And it was during these crucial days that Comrade Stalin delivered his two addresses, one on November 6 devoted to the 24th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, and the other the next day at the Red Army Parade, from the rostrum of the Lenin Mausoleum.

In spite of the critical situation in which the country and its army found themselves at that time Comrade Stalin declared that our victory was assured and drew such a perspective of the war that many were surprised by its boldness. He stated that the Soviet Army was capable not only of destroying the robber hordes of fascist invaders but also of liberating the peoples of Europe they held in bondage.

The heartening effect of Comrade Stalin's utterances can hardly be overestimated. They shed brilliant light upon the course which our struggle would take, raised the spirits of our people and troops, cheered up all the friends of the Soviet Union abroad and caused alarm in the camp of the enemy.

Everything turned out exactly the way Comrade Stalin had said it would. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) The Soviet Army not only cleared its native land of the enemy but also carried out its great mission of liberation.

Comrade Malenkov spoke in his report of the great trust which our people placed in the Communist Party during the war. This found expression, particularly, in the great wartime increase in Party membership. Moreover, it was very significant that the maximum number of applications for admission to the Party coincided with the times when the situation at the front was unfavourable

to us. This indicates the strong bonds that link our Party with the masses and corroborates the correctness of its line.

The most ample proof, the most conclusive criterion that the policy and leadership of our Party in military matters was right is of course the issue of the past war, our complete victory over the enemy, achieved by the joint efforts of the people and the army.

The war has demonstrated that the Soviet Union possesses a first-rate army with up-to-the-minute armaments, a highly experienced officers' corps and a morale and fighting efficiency unequalled anywhere. The war has demonstrated once more that our army is an army of a new type, that it is a genuine people's army, an army that incorporates the fraternity existing among the different nations of our country, an army reared in the spirit of internationalism. The war has further demonstrated that the personnel of our army derives its strength from its conviction that the wars which our country has to wage are just and from its political consciousness, which, as is known, is of tremendous importance and assures victory.

Trained to consider themselves personally responsible for the defence of their Motherland the Soviet fighters came to realize that in warring against Hitler Germany they were defending what they treasured most, the freedom and independence of their country. This noble purpose gave birth to mass heroism among our fighters, sons of the various peoples that make up the Soviet Union. Repeatedly Comrade Stalin commended in his Orders of the Day the excellent combat qualities and the feats of heroism performed by the soldiers and officers of all the arms of the service—by infantrymen, artillerymen, tank-

men, airmen and sailors. Each arm of the service contributed to the vanquishment of the foe.

During the war the Soviet troops, commanded by a glorious corps of officers, attained a large number of outstanding victories, of which our people may justly feel proud and which will go down in history for all eternity. Everyone of these victories is written in letters of gold in our country's annals of war. (*Loud applause.*)

The discomfiture of the German fascist troops at Moscow, which disrupted the enemy's plan to surround and capture our capital and thus killed the "blitzkrieg" plan; the grand battle of Stalingrad which ended in the encirclement, defeat and capture of an army of 330,000 picked troops and marked the beginning of a fundamental change in the tide of the war; the rout of Hitler's hordes in the foothills of the Caucasus, which frustrated the plans of the enemy to break through to our oil fields and to divert our main reserves south; the Kursk battle which terminated the offensive strategy of the Hitlerites; the ten crushing blows struck by Stalin in 1944, which made it possible to transfer military operations beyond the confines of our Homeland, and caused the Hitlerite bloc to fall completely asunder; the culminating victories of 1945 with their splendid operations in East Prussia, on the Vistula and the Oder, at Budapest and Vienna; and finally the capture of Berlin—such is the roll of the most glorious of the victories achieved by our troops, victories that brought on the downfall and unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany. Nor ought we to forget the successful operations our troops conducted to encompass the defeat of imperialist Japan.

Each one of these victories was a result of the courage, bravery and unexcelled exploits of ordinary soldiers

and officers of every rank, and of the heroic efforts of the labouring people in the rear. It was they, all Soviet people, who by their toil and military skill, by their sweat and blood, achieved our glorious victories which saved our country from enthralment. (*Applause.*)

Each one of these victories is a concrete embodiment of the Soviet art of war, of the skill of Soviet officers and generals, is a triumph of the Stalin military science, a triumph of the generalship of our leader and Supreme Commander in Chief, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Stalin headed the fight of the Soviet people and of our Armed Forces against the foreign invasion. It was under his direct leadership and in accordance with the plans designed by his genius that all decisive operations in the Great Patriotic War were prepared and carried into execution and that the defeat of Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan became a reality.

In speaking of our victory over the forces of fascism we must not fail to mention that besides the Soviet Army, the valiant Polish Army and the Czechoslovakian Corps also contributed to its achievement (*applause*), forces which were created during the progress of the war on the territory of the Soviet Union. As they fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet troops against the common foe the officers and men of the Polish and Czechoslovak units showed in deed their intrepidity and military proficiency. Their successful combat actions were repeatedly cited in the Orders of the Day issued by the Supreme Commander in Chief, Comrade Stalin. In the final stage of the war the Rumanian and Bulgarian armies likewise joined the armed struggle against fascism and gave proof of their fine military qualities.

Our country emerged from the war powerful and strong. The hopes of the imperialists that the Soviet Union would be weakened or even exhausted were shattered.

Thanks to our victory the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe were enabled to overthrow the rule of the landlords and capitalists and set up People's Democracies in their respective countries. In consequence of the falling away of these countries and of a number of others in Asia from the capitalist system, one third of humanity has now been freed forever from imperialist subjugation.

The outcome of the war has proved to the whole world what a powerful force our Soviet Union is. Postwar developments have demonstrated once more the abiding strength of our state.

Numerous difficulties confronted the Soviet people also in finding solutions for its postwar problems, because the havoc wrought in our economy by the war proved to be exceedingly great. The enemies of the Soviet Union included this factor too in their calculations, hoping we would be unable to cope with the difficult situation by our own unaided efforts. However, the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, emerged with credit from this difficult test as well, found sufficient energy and strength not only to heal the wounds inflicted by the war but also to effect a thorough improvement of industry and the transport system, of agriculture, culture and their material welfare. This was achieved under the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the results of which are well known to all.

The successful fulfilment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan was a new triumph for the policy of our Party.

As a result of the historic victories won by the Soviet Union during the war and the outstanding achieve-

ments of the postwar period, our country has experienced such an increase in strength as was never witnessed before.

It may be said without the least exaggeration that in not a single bourgeois country is the internal situation as stable and remote from all disturbance as in the Soviet Union, nor can it be. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union is today a firmly-knit socialist state with a superlative industry, well developed transport system and highly productive agriculture.

The economic life of our country is governed by a state plan which aims at augmenting the social wealth and at steadily raising the living and cultural standards of the people, at fortifying the independence and strengthening the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union.

It is the fulfilment of these tasks that is contemplated by the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the Soviet Union submitted to the Party Congress for its approval. The draft embodies the great force that inheres in the socialist system and reflects the basic economic law of socialism, namely, the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques.

This is attested to, above all, by the higher level of industrial output provided for in the draft directives, amounting to an increase of about 70 per cent for the five-year period and an annual average increase of about 12 per cent in gross industrial output, with an extra margin of increase in the production of means of production. This will result in tripling the volume of industrial output in 1955 as compared with 1940.

Further evidence of this can be seen in the high rates of development of the leading industries, the growth of the national income, which will amount to no less than 60 per cent under this five-year plan, the increase in real wages of factory and office workers, which will amount to no less than 35 per cent, the rise in the incomes of the collective farmers, which will be no less than 40 per cent, the vast growth of trade, and many other figures.

The tasks mentioned in the draft directives regarding the Fifth Five-Year Plan ensure the further powerful development of advanced techniques, machines, machine tools and high precision apparatus, which will in turn bring about a corresponding increase in the number of highly skilled engineers, technicians and workers. This will be a great and positive factor working for the further consolidation of our economy and the enhancement of the defensive capacity of our country, since modern warfare requires a host of weapons which are the products of the latest achievements in science and technique.

The increased output of the most important kinds of agricultural produce, set at 40 to 70 per cent, and the large increase in livestock products prescribed by the draft directives forecast a new upsurge in agricultural production within the next few years.

In the domain of public education the targets set by the directives are of great importance to the state. They comprise a considerable extension of the system of universal secondary education and the beginning of polytechnical education in the secondary schools. The practical solution of these problems will raise the cultural standard of our people to a still higher plane and will produce a vast number of well educated and technically trained

builders of communism and defenders of our country. Universal compulsory polytechnical education is necessary, as Comrade Stalin says, in order that each member of society may be able freely to choose his occupation and not be tied all his life to some one trade or profession.

In the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan, as in every previous such plan, we find concrete expression of the Lenin-Stalin national policy of our Party whose object it is to strengthen the friendship between our peoples and ensure the further and even greater economic and cultural progress of all the Union Republics. The comrades who have spoken here have adduced many striking facts and graphic figures descriptive of the rapid advance of economy and culture in these republics since the establishment of Soviet rule, particularly during the postwar period. Under the new five-year plan the national economies of the republics of Central Asia, Transcaucasia as well as Byelorussia and the Ukraine along with all the other Soviet republics will make further substantial progress.

Huge tasks are envisaged for the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics calculated to develop all branches of their national economies and cultures, for their peoples joined the fraternal Soviet family of nations but shortly before the war and prior thereto had been ruled by bourgeois governments.

During the fourth five-year plan period the Baltic Soviet Republics, despite the cruel aftermath of the war, achieved great success in the development of their national economies, more particularly their industries. The directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for the further economic expansion of these republics.

The draft directives concerning the Fifth Five-Year Plan furnish fresh proof that the Soviet people are devoting all their strength to peaceful construction and do not want war. At the same time we make no secret of the fact that our economy can be converted to the purposes of war in a minimum of time.

Under the leadership of our Party the Soviet people are effecting a gradual transition from socialism to communism. In the *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, the new outstanding work of Comrade Stalin, he points out that in preparation for this transition an uninterrupted expansion of all social production must be assured, with a relatively higher rate of expansion in the production of means of production, and that by means of gradual transitions collective-farm property must be raised to the level of public property, that commodity circulation must be superseded, also by means of gradual transitions, by a system of products-exchange and that finally such a cultural advancement of society must be attained as will secure the all-round development of the manual and mental abilities of every member of society.

The program of our country's development mapped out by the draft directives takes precisely the course indicated by Comrade Stalin. The goals envisaged by the Fifth Five-Year Plan directives are sure to win, when accomplished, a new series of successes in every sphere of communist construction.

The assignments set by the new five-year plan make great demands upon Party, Soviet, economic, trade union and Young Communist League organizations. It is made incumbent upon them to mobilize the masses for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of its provisions.

As Comrade Stalin says: "It would be foolish to think that the production plan is a mere enumeration of figures and assignments. Actually, the production plan is the embodiment of the living and practical activity of millions of people. What makes our production plan realistic is the millions of working people who are creating a new life."

The Soviet people have repeatedly shown in the past their unswerving determination not only to fulfil but also exceed economic plans, owing to which they were carried out ahead of schedule. This determination is to be explained by the fact that the people find in these plans a reflection of their vital interests and can plainly see that plan fulfilment strengthens the Soviet state, multiplies the social wealth, makes their life brighter and with each annual and quinquennial plan brings our country nearer to its cherished goal—communism. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet people's determination to fulfil and overfulfil the economic plans is embodied in the country-wide socialist emulation movement. Beyond all doubt this tried and tested communist method of work will be employed during the present five-year period by millions of Soviet people to raise labour productivity to the utmost, to carry out and exceed all production assignments ahead of plan and without defect in quality.

The many years of experience we have had in socialist construction has taught us that economic success depends directly on the theoretical understanding, on the Marxist-Leninist steeling, of our personnel, of the whole membership of the Party, and on the degree of political consciousness possessed by the popular masses.

During the last few years much has been done by our Party to develop ideological work and improve its quality.

Communist construction requires that the Party's ideological work be conducted on a higher plane, that propaganda be more widespread and that the theoretical level of Party members be raised. This is one of the most important conditions of progress in our country.

Comrades, the report of Comrade Malenkov to the congress of our Party on the work of the Central Committee has thoroughly analyzed the international situation from every angle. One of the most characteristic features of the present world situation is its aggravation, and the imperialists' intensified preparation of war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Making use of the situation that arose after the war the United States has openly adopted a policy calculated to establish American world domination. Latterly the United States monopoly owners have been trying to hide this policy of theirs behind such pompous phrases as "collaboration and agreed-upon action among the noncommunist countries of the world." But in spite of all the exertions of these gentlemen it is obvious that their plans and intentions differ in nothing from the plans and intentions of Hitler and his accomplices, who also avidly sought world domination but broke their necks in the attempt. It wouldn't hurt the new claimants to the overlordship of the world to bear this in mind.

In the course of the last few years ground and air forces have considerably increased in strength in all aggressive countries. Thus, in the United States the total strength of the armed forces multiplied more than sixfold compared with 1939. The strength of Great Britain's regular armed forces increased 150 per cent in comparison with the prewar figure. At America's behest armed forces are being established in Western Germany and Japan,

and a European army, so-called, is being hammered together which, in pursuance of the imperialists' plans, is to attain considerable size by the end of the present year.

Falsely protesting a love of peace the American government is organizing and building numerous military bases beyond the frontiers of the U.S.A., mainly on West-German, French, British, French Moroccan, Turkish and Japanese territory. America also prefers to build its naval bases on foreign territory, first and foremost on the shores of seas bordering on countries of the North-Atlantic bloc.

One can readily conjecture the why's and wherefore's of the building of these American military bases. They are intended to encircle the Soviet Union and create conditions favourable to the U.S.A. in case of war.

Of late great bellicosity has been displayed by generals of the Atlantic bloc. At the command of their Wall Street masters they flit from land to land, inspecting troops, conducting land, sea and air manoeuvres, or scouring along the Soviet frontiers. During the last three months alone about a dozen high-ranking military men, both Americans and British, visited the Soviet-Turkish border. The appearance at our frontiers of these jackals dressed in uniform was of course no matter of chance. It is one of the links in the chain of preparations made by the imperialists for war against the U.S.S.R.

This shows, furthermore, that having lost all sense of responsibility for the fate of its people and having become a mere appendage of the Anglo-American bloc, the present Turkish government is ready to involve the country in dangerous adventures.

Recently combined land and sea manoeuvres were held by the Atlantic bloc not so far from the Soviet borders,

in the area beginning at the northern coast of Norway down to the Danish island of Bornholm. Nine countries took part in the exercises. With the exception of Norway and Denmark none of the participating countries have direct interests in the Baltic Sea area.

The actions and intentions of the imperialist camp, headed by the present U.S. government, are obviously of an aggressive and provocatory nature.

The forces of the camp of the aggressors should of course not be underrated nor should they be overrated. Its forces are possessed of all the vices of the imperialist system whose product they are.

One must not ignore the fact that the capitalist camp is an assemblage of states unequal in the rights they enjoy and is rent asunder by great internal contradictions. Unfurling the flag of anticommunism the leaders of this camp assert that they are founding a "commonwealth of free countries." But what kind of commonwealth of free countries can there really be any talk about? Have the peoples of the countries drawn into the orbit of the United States any desire to join such a commonwealth? Are they allured by the prospect of a new war in defence of the piratical interests of the American monopolies?

To further their ends the ruling circles of the capitalist countries seek to ensnare the people in a network of lies, spread cock-and-bull stories about the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and shriek about the necessity of "liberating" these countries from communism. Particular zeal is being displayed by the ruling clique in the U.S.A., who go to the length of threatening to "free" considerable parts of Europe and Asia by force of arms, specifying among other countries Poland, Czechoslovakia,

Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, China and the Mongolian People's Republic.

These madcap schemes cause even the bourgeoisie to stand aghast. The more sober of their leaders aptly ask: Do the peoples concerned want to be "liberated"?

A reasonable question. The people of the countries enumerated are in no need of such "liberators." If there is anybody these people want to be freed from at all it is the spies, wreckers and terrorists who are being sent in in great numbers by the Americans. (*Applause.*) No other liberation is required, the more so since all the world knows what it means to be "liberated the American way." In the past it meant the barbarous extermination of the Indian tribes in North America, cruel measures of retaliation against the Filipinos, and military intervention against the young Soviet Republic. Today "liberation the American way" implies waging a rapacious war of conquest in Korea, ruthless bombardment of its peaceable towns and villages, annihilation of women and children by bombs and lethal bacteria.

The American imperialists use the lying "liberation" propaganda to cover up their brigandage. But falsehood will not help them. Lies are short-lived. You cannot get very far with them. (*Applause.*)

At present the United States government is seriously disturbed over the inadequate "political and moral solidarity" of the countries that compose the Atlantic bloc. This is evidently the reason for extolling with such emphasis the American aid granted to the members of this bloc. However the implications of such "aid" are only too well known, viz., the direct robbery of these countries and their domination by America. When it renders "aid" to

its satellites the American government is very mindful of the maxim quite current in the world of capitalism: "Here, take what I can't use." And thus they promptly dispose of their shopworn merchandise and antiquated armaments. They take advantage of their military and economic assistance to other countries to involve them in the active preparation of a new world war.

In describing the present situation in the capitalist world Comrade Stalin says: "Outwardly, everything would seem to be 'going well': the U.S.A. has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the U.S.A. and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity,' that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development."

The contradictions and difficulties within the North-Atlantic bloc countries hinder the implementation of their aggressive plans. But our mighty camp of peace and democracy represents a still greater hindrance.

The working people of the People's Democracies, led by their communist and workers' parties, have achieved outstanding successes in every sphere of economy, government activity and public life. These successes clearly indicate that the People's Democracies have become much stronger than they were before the war, under their old, antipopular regimes.

Permanent economic cooperation has been established among the People's Democracies. This cooperation is based upon a sincere desire to help each other and achieve

in common a degree of economic development that is ensuring high rates of industrial expansion in these countries.

Such is the difference in the relations among the countries belonging to the capitalist world and those belonging to the socialist world. There, among the capitalists, they are relations of dominance and subordination, which lead to the ruination and enslavement of the economically underdeveloped countries. Here, among us, they are relations among equals, relations of friendship, which lead to common economic improvement.

The camp of peace and democracy, which stretches from the river Elbe to the Pacific Ocean, is replete with a fervour for peaceful construction and an earnest desire to preserve peace for many years to come. But it is important to note that in case of necessity it has at its command quite modern and sufficiently powerful armed forces.

And let the capitalist gentry know and remember that a new world war is more dangerous for capitalism than it is for the camp of democracy. Should they launch such a war it will evoke the powerful armed resistance of all freedom-loving nations who will not stint any effort to settle accounts with capitalism once and for all. (*Loud applause.*)

Under these circumstances it is our duty to manifest at all times a high degree of vigilance and increase our preparedness to repel the aggressors. Past history teaches us that the weaker the position of imperialism becomes the greater the danger of its resorting to military adventures, and the greater the exertions of the imperialists to improve their shaken position at the expense of the Soviet Union.

We must therefore strengthen to the utmost, as heretofore, our Army, Air Force and Navy. A permanent state of preparedness for battle on the part of our Armed Forces and the armed forces of the entire democratic camp is the surest guarantee against any eventuality.

Our Army and Navy are there to defend our Motherland, to protect the peaceful labour of our Soviet people. We stand for peace and carry on a policy of peace, a policy of averting war. However, all the proposals submitted by the Soviet Government to ensure peace are rejected by the American government and its obsequious chorus, the reasons being that they spoil the business of the instigators of war and set at nought their aggressive plans. Malicious threats and ridiculous attempts at intimidation are resorted to against the Soviet Union.

All we can say to that is this:

In vain your efforts, gentlemen of the imperialist camp! The great Soviet people is not to be scared by threats, is not to be daunted. And if it comes to a showdown, our people will be pretty well able to take care of themselves and uphold the interests of their Motherland. (*Loud applause.*) Should it become necessary, the Soviet Armed Forces will offer resistance to any aggressor according to all the rules of the Soviet art of war. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, the present Party Congress is transacting its business at a time not far removed from the 35th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On the eve of this revolution Russia was on the brink of ruin. It came near losing its national independence and becoming a colony of the foreign imperialists. That was the state to which the ruling classes of Russia, the landlords and capitalists, had reduced the country.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of our country. Having organized the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, our Party succeeded, in consequence of this revolution, in bringing about the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and landlords, organizing the dictatorship of the proletariat, abolishing capitalism, and eliminating the exploitation of man by man. It ensured the building of socialist society.

Under the Party's leadership our people carried out the injunction of the great Lenin to transform our country into a land of plenty, a mighty land.

Now the main task of our Party is to build communist society by gradual transition from socialism to communism. Fulfilment of the Fifth Stalin Five-Year Plan will be a long step in that direction.

The victories our people have won are of epochal importance. We have long ago entered the stage when working people the world over can see as clear as day the results of the great undertaking we embarked upon. Thanks to its successes in socialist construction our country has become the cynosure of all who toil, of all men of advanced ideas throughout the world. Taking the U.S.S.R. as the example, every unprejudiced person now can see what working people can achieve when they themselves rule over the land and when a party like ours exercises the leadership.

The strength of our Party lies in the advanced theory by which it is guided, the theory of Marxism-Leninism; the strength of our Party lies in the close and inseverable bonds that link it with the people, its ability to rouse the masses to resolve their historical tasks; its strength lies in its monolithic unity.

Our Party has come to its Nineteenth Congress united, firmly cemented around its Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee, around Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Long live the great and invincible banner of our Party, the standard of Lenin and Stalin! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live our leader and teacher, the great Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise. Cheers from the audience*: "Hurrah for our great Stalin!")

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